

EMOTION SOCIALIZATON BY MOTHERS AND FATHERS:
ASSOCIATIONS WITH CHILDREN’S ADJUSTMENT

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ABSTRACT

Emotion Socialization by Mothers and Fathers:

Associations with Children's Adjustment

Parental emotion socialization (ES) behaviors refer to how parents respond, guide, or teach their children's emotional experiences. Research has shown that supportive parental responses help children regulate negative emotions and foster psychological well-being. In contrast, non-supportive responses are associated with internalizing and externalizing problems throughout children's developmental trajectories. This thesis examines the relationships between parental emotion socialization practices and child adjustment, with a focus on how these relationships may vary depending on the gender of both the parent and the child. Using nationally representative survey data collected from Turkish parents of children aged 4 to 17, this thesis was conducted within the scope of the TÜBİTAK-funded project (1003-118K032). Results from a series of multivariate analyses revealed partially gender-based patterns of emotion socialization (ES) across parent and child gender. Parental ES significantly predicted children's social-emotional adjustment depending on the moderator role of gender. These findings underscore the importance of considering cultural values, gender norms, and family dynamics when examining the relationship between parental emotion socialization (ES) and child adjustment.

ÖZET

Anne ve Babaların Duygu Sosyalleştirme Davranışları:

Çocukların Uyumu ile İlişkiler

Duygu sosyalleştirme (DS), ebeveynlerin çocuklarının duygularına verdikleri tepkiler ve bu duyguları yönlendirme biçimlerini ifade eder. Ebeveynlerin destekleyici tepkileri çocukların olumsuz duygularla baş etmesine ve psikolojik uyum geliştirmesine katkı sağlarken, destekleyici olmayan tepkiler içe yönelim ve dışa yönelim problemleriyle ilişkilidir. Bu tez çalışmasının amacı, ebeveynin ve çocuğun cinsiyetine bağlı olarak DS ile çocuk uyumu arasındaki ilişkilerin farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını ve ebeveyn DS davranışlarının çocuk ve ergenlerin problem davranışları ve prososyal davranışları üzerindeki yordayıcı rolünü incelemektir. Bu çalışma, yaşları 4 ila 17 arasında değişen çocukların Türk ebeveynlerinden toplanan ulusal temsili anket verilerini kullanıldığı TÜBİTAK destekli proje (1003-118K032) kapsamında yürütülmüştür. Çok değişkenli varyans analizden elde edilen sonuçlar, ebeveyn ve çocuk cinsiyeti arasında kısmen cinsiyete dayalı duygu sosyalleştirme (DS) örüntülerini ortaya koymuştur. Ebeveyn DS, cinsiyetin düzenleyici rolüne bağlı olarak çocukların sosyal-duygusal uyumunu önemli ölçüde yordamıştır. Bu bulgular, ebeveyn ES ile çocuk uyumu arasındaki bağlantıyı incelerken kültürel değerleri, toplumsal cinsiyet normlarını ve aile dinamiklerini göz önünde bulundurmanın önemini vurgulamaktadır.

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DEDICATION



*To the children of Gaza,
whose feelings are shaped in fear instead of care,
who met war instead of play,
you deserve a world that is kinder than the one you were born into.*

-

*This thesis stands as a solemn reminder that
emotion development begins only where justice and peace exist,
thus, no child should learn emotions through war.*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The development of emotion competence, the ability to recognize, express, regulation of emotions is a foundational part of children's emotional growth. Emotion competence develops through a complex process that transpires throughout childhood and adolescence, guiding children's ability to navigate their internal experiences and social interactions, which in turn contributes to children's socioemotional adjustment. Socioemotional adjustment includes the ability to form relationships with peers, managing stress and avoiding internalizing (anxiety and depression) or externalizing problems (such as aggression and bullying). Research has shown that the quality of emotional support and emotion socialization has a vital role in the development of emotional competence (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Westrupp et al., 2020).

Parents are the main agents of socialization in children's lives, providing the foundation for how children learn to understand, express, and regulate their emotions through parental emotion socialization (Eisenberg et al., 1996; 1998). Bioecological systems theory further contextualizes the process by emphasizing how mothers' and fathers' caregiving behaviors are shaped in dynamic interactions across various proximal and distal environmental systems, including family society, and culture (Bronfrennber & Morris, 2006). Parental emotion socialization (ES) is embedded in cultural values and social norms, influencing children's emotion competencies and behavioral outcomes in culturally specific ways (Raval & Walker, 2019). Extending Eisenberg et al.'s (1998) model, Raval and Walker highlighted how cultural factors

shape caregiver emotion socialization and its implications for child functioning. Building on these frameworks, understanding how parents socialize their children's emotions is essential for exploring the developmental pathways of social competence and behavioral adjustment in specific sociocultural contexts (Eisenberg, 1998; Denham et al., 2010; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992).

Parental socialization is often considered a key factor in influencing children's behavior, with research suggesting that boys and girls are socialized in different ways (Lytton & Romney, 1991; Root & Denham, 2010). As Lytton and Romney states (1991), the extent to which parents differentiate between boys and girls in their caregiving practices is an important question as it directly points to the core of behavioral differences that are known or presumed to exist between males and females. Yet, there is an ongoing debate in the literature regarding whether mothers and fathers socialize their children's emotions differently, and the degree to which mothers' and fathers' emotion socialization follow gendered parenting practices for their daughters and sons and their socioemotional outcomes. To date, comparing ES responses to daughters' and sons' emotion expressions, parents from Western samples were likely to behave in a more nurturing and responsive manner towards daughters, while encouraging autonomy and self-expression towards their sons (Chaplin et al., 2005; Denham et al., 2010). Yet, investigating parents' socialization of their children's emotions within different sociocultural contexts is crucial for understanding the implications of gender-differentiated parenting from a cultural perspective.

Parents' gender-differentiated behaviors may also influence boys' and girls' socioemotional development, affecting how they navigate relationships and cope with emotional challenges according to sociocultural expectations (see review Raval,

2019). With the growing focus on fathering studies, there has been a substantial increase in research examining the differential role of mothers' and fathers' socialization on children's developmental outcomes (Lamb, 2010; Cabrera et al., 2014). Although fathers have typically been studied less than mothers, understanding the distinct and vital role fathers play in shaping children's development—and how that role interacts with that of mothers—remains a critical gap in research, particularly in emotion socialization research with samples outside the US and Western Europe. Thus, this study aims to investigate Turkish mothers' and fathers' differential emotion socialization practices and their relationship with children's socioemotional adjustment, considering the role of parental and child gender and considering child anger and sadness.

1.2 Emotion socialization

Emotional socialization (ES) refers to parents' reactions to children's emotional states, such as encouraging children's emotion displays, providing comfort and guidance to children, and minimizing, ignoring, and punishing their children for expressing various emotions (Denham et al., 1994; Eisenberg et al., 1998). The heuristic model identified three common ways of parental emotion socialization including (1) how parents react to their children's emotions, (2) how parents discuss emotions with their children, (3), and how parents express and model their own emotions.

Based on the heuristic model, the extent of parents' reactions to children's emotion expression enhances the development of schemas regarding the self and interactions from social environment. In terms of parents' own expression of emotions, children learn how to react in various situations by taking their parents as

role models and learn more about which emotions are acceptable to express in specific social and cultural contexts. Also, when parents discuss the emotions of their children, children can gain understanding of reasons and results of emotion expressions, and it can enhance their ability to recognize and express their emotions, which is linked to positive behavioral outcomes such as emotional regulation and social competence (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Parents' direct reactions to their children's emotions have been typically categorized into two overarching strategies as supportive responses and non-supportive responses (Eisenberg, 1998; Brown et al., 2015). Supportive emotion socialization involves fostering a positive emotional environment by understanding and accepting a child's emotions while guiding them in finding solutions for emotional regulation (Eisenberg et al., 1998). In terms of supportive reactions, parents can engage in either *problem-focused responses* (1), which refer to the parents helping their children to address and overcome the situation that causes particular feeling, or *emotion-focused responses* (2), which refer to soothing children in times of distress, or *expressive encouragement* (3) parents' understanding and reassuring children as they express their feelings. These elements can help manage children's negative emotions effectively and enhance socioemotional development overall (Chaplin et al., 2005; Meyer et al., 2014). On the other hand, non-supportive responses refer to parental reactions that undermine felt emotion either by *minimizing* (1) the importance of the situation that causes feeling or by *dismissing* (2) emotional displays of their children in times of distress or by *punishing* (3) them in return for displaying specific emotion. These strategies may lead to difficulties in understanding, expressing, and regulating children's emotions (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Regarding child developmental outcomes, there is growing evidence that parents' supportive responses towards their children's negative emotional displays were associated with prosocial behavior (Baker et al., 2012), better coping abilities and emotion regulation (Mirable et al., 2018), and fewer behavioral problems (Engle & McElwain, 2011). It can be stated that children whose parents encourage discussions about emotions are more likely to express their feelings and understand others' emotional experiences better (Cunningham et al., 2009; Bjork, 2020; Castro et al., 2014). On the other hand, Morris and colleagues (2007) emphasized the link between non-supportive parental reactions, such as punitive or minimizing responses, on children maladjustment and deficits in children's emotion regulation. Regarding that review, parents' non-supportive reactions were associated with negative outcomes including difficulty in regulating emotions (Shewark & Blandon, 2015), maladaptive coping strategies and more behavioral problems (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007, Denham et al., 2000; see also Morris et al., 2007 for a review). In Eisenberg, and her colleagues' (2010) metanalysis, they also provided extensive evidence showing that non-supportive parental behaviors hinder children's development of emotion regulation and increase the risk for maladjustment. It is stated that, parental non-supportive or punitive responses have been associated with lower levels of effortful control and emotion regulation (as cited in Esienberg et al., 2010).

While parents employ various socialization strategies for their children's expressions of both positive and negative emotions, most research so far has primarily focused on how parents respond to their children's expressions of submissive and dominant emotions namely sadness and fear as well as anger, respectively (Fabes et al., 2001; McElwain et al., 2007). One possible reason behind this is the fact that parental responses are more likely to differ in terms of displays of

negative emotions compared to the displays of positive emotions among children (Kennedy-Root & Denham, 2010). Considering this, focus of the current study consists of parents' direct reactions towards their children's expressions of negative emotions.

In the context of parents' socialization of emotions, both children (e.g. temperament, age, gender) and parental characteristics (e.g. beliefs and values along with temperament, age, gender) found influential on parents' emotion-related socialization behaviors (ERSB) (Eisenberg et al., 1996, 1998). Of particular interest to the present thesis is the gender characteristics of parents and children in emotion socialization.

1.3 Theoretical models on gender differentiated parenting

Endendijk and colleagues (2018) proposed model of gendered family process (GFP), an integrative framework that aims to explain the ways gender is constructed within the family context and passed through next generations. The model is based on the family system and the biosocial family approach, supporting the idea that exploring gendered family patterns requires comprehensive consideration of the family system (Endendijk et al., 2018). Their investigation focuses on proximal family processes—such as parental beliefs, behaviors, and emotional interactions—to explain how child gender influences family dynamics. By integrating biological (e.g., child temperament, age, gender), cognitive (e.g., parental gender schemas), and social factors (e.g., gender role expectations), the Gendered Family Process model offers a comprehensive view of how gendered experiences are shaped within the family context. According to the GFP model proposed by Endendijk and colleagues (2018), parents' gendered expectations and beliefs influence how they socialize their children

differently based on gender. This differential treatment often leads parents to encourage self-reliance in their sons, while fostering emotional sensitivity in their daughters. As a result, these parenting practices can shape the emotion competencies and behaviors exhibited by children throughout their lives.

For investigating gendered parenting behaviors and their relationship with child developmental outcomes, the bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) also underlines significance of the interplay between factors of the microsystem (e.g., parent-child relations) and macrosystem (e.g., cultural values and societal expectations). This theory highlights the importance of jointly considering environmental and individual factors in children's socioemotional development. Concerning this, gendered parenting behaviors are examined through a multilevel perspective, allowing us to capture not only immediate parent-child interactions, but also the broader sociocultural influences that shape these dynamics. From this perspective, children's socioemotional development is profoundly influenced not only by the direct factors within their immediate microsystem and individual traits but also by the broader, indirect effects of cultural values and gender norms embedded in the macrosystem. This dual influence underscores the importance of understanding both individual and societal contexts in fostering healthy emotional growth through children's developmental trajectories.

Indeed, researchers have suggested that gendered socialization patterns reflect broader societal norms. These norms might associate emotional expressiveness with femininity, while emotional restraint—especially for emotions like sadness or fear—might be viewed as part of masculinity. (Chaplin & Aldao, 2013; Cabrera et al., 2014). Thus, parents may adopt different approaches based on their child's gender, reinforcing specific emotion expressions or behaviors that align with societal

expectations and role socializations (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Thus, differences in parental ES behaviors may arise as a part of a broader socialization process that approves gender-consistent behavior and disapproves of gender-inconsistent behavior.

Gender socialization plays a critical role in shaping individuals' attitudes and behaviors regarding gender roles from early childhood onward (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Through interactions with parents, peers, educators, and media, individuals receive implicit and explicit messages about what is considered appropriate behavior for their gender. These messages not only inform children's understanding of gender norms but also contribute to the internalization of those norms over time. In parallel, identity theory posits that individuals construct their self-concepts through internalized social roles and expectations (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Given the focus of this study, these frameworks provide a valuable lens through which to understand how gender-related variables emerge and function across developmental contexts. In line with these theories, gender schema theory and gender role socialization theories also provide rationales for understanding differential treatment of mothers and fathers towards emotion expression of their children pointing out parents utilize distinctive strategies with sons and daughters in line with the gender role standards defined in their culture (Bem, 1981; Eagly et al., 2000).

According to gender schema theory (Bem, 1981), individuals, including parents, develop cognitive frameworks about gender which influence how they process information and behave. This leads parents to interpret and respond to their children's behaviors in gender-stereotyped ways and thereby shaping children's emotional and behavioral development according to traditional gender norms. In a meta-analysis, Endendjik and colleagues (2017) revealed that parenting strategies

such as control and autonomy support are shaped by parents' internalized gender-role beliefs rather than uniformly dictated by societal norms. For instance, parents with traditional gender attitudes are more likely to employ gender-differentiated practices—such as using harsh discipline with boys and more tolerance and guidance with girls—in ways that reinforce stereotypical gender roles. Conversely, parents who hold counter-stereotypical gender beliefs may reverse these patterns, encouraging behaviors that challenge traditional roles (Endendijk et al., 2017). Similarly, gender role socialization theory posits that children learn culturally appropriate gender behaviors through reinforcement, modeling, and observation, particularly by parents (Eagly et al., 2000). This process is influenced by the broader sociocultural context; thus, parenting behaviors are shaped by culturally dominant gender norms that align with the societal expectations of a particular sociocultural context. In cultures that endorse traditional attitudes over gender egalitarian ideology, parents are more likely to use gender-differentiated tones for emotions of their daughters and sons. Whereas, in cultures that endorse gender-egalitarian attitudes, parents may exhibit fewer gender-differentiated behaviors towards their daughters and sons (Chen et al., 2009, see review Raval & Walker, 2019).

1.4 Emotion socialization behaviors by mothers and fathers

Growing body of research points out the role of gender in parenting behaviors in general, and gender differences in how mothers and fathers engage in emotional context, in particular (Thomassin et al., 2019; Fivush et al., 2000). Evidence indicated that parental gender-different emotion socialization behaviors point to inconsistent results as part of them revealed differences between mothers and fathers in emotion-related parenting context, some studies revealed no differences

(Friedlmeier et al., 2011). Regarding parenting differences across parent gender, mothers found as being more likely to get involved in shaping their children's emotional experiences (Baker et al., 2011) and more supportive in terms of the expression for negative emotions (Cassano et al., 2007) as they are emotional gatekeepers in family. On the other hand, fathers found as having tendency towards minimizing children's negative emotions (Cassano et al., 2007) or encouraging emotion inhibition (Chaplin, 2015) and are more likely to react punitively to their children's expressions of negative emotions (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007).

Previous meta-analyses have generally shown small or negligible differences in how parents treat boys and girls across various emotion socialization contexts. For example, Endendijk et al. (2016) found small differences in autonomy-supportive or controlling strategies between sons and daughters, and Aznar and Tenenbaum (2020) reported no significant differences in the frequency of mother–child emotion talks. Research on gender differences for parental responses to child negative emotions has yielded mixed findings, with some studies indicating that both parent and child gender affect parents' reactions to children's emotions (Cassano, et al., 2007), while some studies reporting any significant gender-based differences (Eisenberg et al., 1996, 1998). Evidence suggests that parents often have gendered expectations regarding children's emotional expressions, as daughters being encouraged to express emotions like sadness and empathy, while sons are encouraged to suppress emotionality and engage in assertiveness (Brown et al. 2014; Chen et al., 2015). According to research conducted by Chen and colleagues (2015), both mothers and fathers engage in more emotional discussions with their daughters than with their sons. This tendency reinforces the gender stereotype that emotional expression is more acceptable for girls. In line with this, Chaplin and Aldao (2013) indicated that

fathers may be more likely to dismiss emotional expressions in their sons, reflecting societal norms prioritizing emotional restraint in males.

In terms of the child's expressions of submissive negative emotions (i.e. sadness, fear) research indicates that boys tend to receive less supportive responses—such as dismissing, minimizing or inhibition—when expressing sadness and fear in comparison to girls (Ersay, 2014; Cassano et al., 2014; Fabes & Martin; 1991). It has been also found that both parents tend to discuss emotions such as sadness and fear more frequently with their daughters than with their sons (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). In a study, Fivush et al. (2000) found that both mothers and fathers were engaged in more emotional utterances when discussing distressing events with daughters than with sons. This study also demonstrates that interactions between parents and daughters tend to frame emotional experiences in a more interpersonal context compared to interactions between parents and sons. Understanding the context of emotion discussions is important for children's comprehension of emotion expressions. If children observe that mothers often talk about emotions while fathers do so less frequently, and both parents engage more with girls about feelings than with boys, it can lead children to unconsciously believe that it is more acceptable for females to express their feelings than for males, which can, in turn, reinforce gender stereotypes.

In terms of child expressions of dominant negative emotions (e.g., anger, contempt, hostility), some studies suggest that anger expression is more accepted by parents for boys than girls (Cassano 2014; Raval & Martini, 2016). Chaplin, Cole and Zahn-Waxler (2005) found that fathers demonstrated greater attention and interest to boys' negative dominant emotions compared to girls', once the children reached early school age. However, Klimes-Dougan et al. (2007) reported that

adolescent daughters and sons generally behaved in similar ways to their anger expressions (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). This finding suggests that, overall, gender may not be the only factor in shaping children's behavior, and points interplay of emotion expression with traditional social norms and developmental trajectories across parenting patterns that apply to both genders. Therefore, such findings challenge traditional views and underscore the need for further investigation into how different emotional responses differ among both parents.

Hasting and De (2008) revealed that parents endorse more supportive strategies for children's expressions of sadness, whereas endorsing more non-supportive responses to children's expressions of anger. In addition to this finding, parents are likely to endorse their children's negative emotions differently (see review Eisenberg et al., 1998). Based on cross-gender patterns Cassano and colleagues (2014) point a significant difference in how mothers and fathers respond to their children's expressions of sadness. Mothers tend to provide greater support for their sons' emotional displays, while fathers are more likely to encourage their daughters' expressions of sadness. Chaplin and colleagues (2005) study also underscores a cross-gender pattern in parental emotion socialization behaviors among children's sadness expressions. Their study indicated that fathers have attended more to their daughters' sadness and anxiety, compared to expressions of sons. Additionally, more tolerant of their sons' expressions of anger. The same gender trend observed for father-son pairs, as fathers have attended more to anger expression of their sons, compared to daughter's expressions of such dominant behavior. Thus, these findings are consistent with previous research suggesting that fathers engage in more gender differentiated socialization behaviors than mothers

across various aspects of children's social and emotional development (Lytton & Romney, 1991).

An important focus of the current study is exploring whether parental ES responses differ based on the gender of the child and gender of the parent. In the developmental literature, fathers were generally studied less compared to mothers (Lamb, 2010; Cabrera et al., 2014). Thus, the unique role fathers play in children's development is an important issue that has not been adequately explored in the Turkish context, particularly in relation to emotion socialization. In addition to this, parental responses towards their children's emotionality differentiates across diverse cultures along with cultural and societal expectations. Considering gender stereotypes and norms in Turkey, Turkish parents may hold gender differentiated preference towards expressions of anger and sadness for their daughters and sons. Most prior studies in Turkey did not report any significant effect of child gender on parental emotion responses (Corapci et al., 2012; Ersay, 2014), although one study has reported fathers' higher levels of non-supportive responses towards emotion expressions of their sons compared to their daughters (Karabulut, 2016).

In summary, reviews of the research (e.g., Raval, 2019) documented that gender-based differences in emotion socialization were mixed as some studies illustrated no influence of child gender, whereas others underscored differences in line with stereotypes. More specifically, it was stated that submissive emotions (i.e. sadness and fear) endorsed more in girls and discouraged in boys, and dominant emotions (i.e. anger and contempt) tolerated more in boys than girls. In addition to this, prior research suggests that fathers tend to enforce gender norms more strictly than mothers, particularly by encouraging gender-typical emotional expressions and

discouraging gender-atypical ones, which may result in more pronounced gender-based differences in terms of emotion socialization responses.

1.5 Links of emotion socialization with child adjustment outcomes

As emotion competence develops, children face several challenges in regulating their emotion states and managing social relationships which relate to the development of socioemotional adjustment. It can be stated that children whose parents encourage discussions about emotions are more likely to express their feelings and understand others' emotional experiences better (Cunningham et al., 2009; Bjork, 2020; Castro et al., 2014). Similarly, Denham et al. (2003) also underscores the crucial role of parental emotion socialization in developing children's emotional competence and their ability to form relationships. As children develop emotionally, they can easily navigate experiences of anxiety, depression, aggression, and social competence, all of which are key markers of their socioemotional adjustment (Miller-Slough, 2018; Bowie et al, 2013).

Research indicates that maternal and paternal emotion socialization behaviors can have distinct influences on children's emotion competence, social functioning, and psychological adjustment. This report synthesizes current findings to highlight that, while both parents are vital to emotional development, their influence operates through distinct pathways and mechanisms. These differences can lead to varied and significant developmental outcomes, since they underscore the importance of understanding each parent's unique contributions.

Systematic reviews have illustrated that gendered parenting significantly shapes various dimensions of children's socioemotional development. Evidence on gendered parenting practices illustrates that fathers tend to engage in play and other

high-energy interactions, which are linked to fostering emotional regulation in boys, while mothers are more likely to use comforting behaviors that promote emotional intimacy, and it is linked with development of trust and empathy (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Gerhardt et al., 2020). Moreover, fathers' non-supportive and punitive behaviors are linked with externalizing, especially in boys (Chaplin, 2015; Klimes-Dougan, 2007). Empirical evidence shows that differential practices influence emotion regulation and effortful control (Cassano et al., 2007; Shewark & Blandon, 2015; Cunningham et al., 2009), and the development of social competence, including peer relationships and empathy (Denham et al., 2010; Baker et al., 2011; Zhu et al., 2023), in a distinct way. On the other hand, as Morawska (2020) highlights, while differential parenting behaviors do exist, their effects on child outcomes remain inconsistent and underexplored across studies, particularly in relation to socio-emotional development.

Parents' differential practices can have long-term effects on children's socioemotional development, as children's psychological adjustment and competence are influenced by the gendered messages they receive from their parents. When boys are expected to hide or suppress their negative emotions, they may be more likely to develop aggressive behaviors as an external reflection of their feelings. On the other hand, girls, who are often endorsed to be emotionally sensitive, may be at a higher risk for experiencing internalizing problems, namely anxiety and depression (Chaplin & Aldao, 2013; Cassano & Zeman, 2010). According to social learning theory, children internalize gender-typed emotional behaviors by observing and imitating parental responses, which may lead to gendered patterns in psychological adjustment, including prosocial behavior, internalizing symptoms (e.g., anxiety,

sadness), and externalizing problems (e.g., aggression, defiance) (Howe & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2023)

One of the key theories in this research is the differential emotion theory, proposed by Izard (1991), which posits that emotions are biologically based and emerged early in life, each serving distinct adaptive functions. According to the theory, emotions such as joy, anger and fear develop independently and provide crucial motivation for behavior, playing a vital role in shaping personality and social interactions. This theory aligns with attachment theory which underlines emotional security in parent-child relationships, and social learning theory which emphasizes the importance of observing and the role of modeling in shaping emotional behavior (Bowlby, 1988; Bandura, 1977).

Based on Izard's theory (1991), anger is considered a high-arousal, approach-related emotion that can signal goal obstruction and elicit assertive or aggressive responses. When parents respond supportively to children's anger -for example, by understanding emotion and guiding expression, this may enhance emotion regulation and foster communication skills. On contrary, non-supportive responses, such as punishing or dismissing, have been associated with externalizing behaviors, including aggressive and disobedient behavior (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Fabes et al., 2001). Research also indicates that fathers are more likely than mothers to react punitively to anger expressions, particularly in boys, potentially reinforcing gendered emotional norms and contributing to behavioral dysregulation (Chaplin et al., 2005; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007).

Additionally, sadness is a low-arousal, submissive negative emotion, which is often associated with vulnerability and higher need for social support. Research consistently demonstrates that the way parents respond to children's expressions of

sadness can significantly impact their internalizing outcomes (Denham et al., 2007; Baker et al., 2011). Supportive responses to sadness, such as comfort and encouragement to express, have been linked to greater prosocial behavior and lower internalizing symptoms, such as anxiety and depression. On the contrary, neglecting sadness or responding with criticism associated with higher rates of anxiety and depression, particularly in girls (Morris et al., 2007). Mothers are generally more likely to respond supportively to sadness than fathers, who may be more prone to minimizing or discouraging such expressions -especially in boys- due to traditional gender expectations (Cassano et al., 2007; Chaplin, 2015). These gender-differentiated responses may significantly shape children's emotion regulation trajectories in distinct ways, contributing to gendered patterns of social and emotional adjustment.

A growing body of research suggests that children's temperament significantly shapes how parents engage in emotion socialization. According to The Heuristic model, children's individual differences in emotional reactivity and self-regulation may result in specific parental responses (Eisenberg et al., 1998). For instance, children high in negative emotionality may elicit more non-supportive reactions, such as minimization or punitive responses. In contrast, children with low effortful control benefit more from supportive parental coaching, which fosters adaptive emotion regulation strategies and prosocial behavior. Thus, temperament not only moderates the effects of parental ES on developmental outcomes but may also act as a predictor of the types of emotion-related responses children receive. As noted by Morris et al. (2022), parental emotion socialization practices shift over time, reflecting changes in children's regulatory needs, autonomy, and social environments. In early childhood, parents may rely more on explicit coaching and

directive strategies, whereas in adolescence emotion socialization becomes more apparent on modeling, open communication, and autonomy support. Based on this difference among maternal and paternal emotion socialization practices may also be shaped by how their practices evolve across different developmental stages.

Longitudinal evidence indicates that age-related changes in emotion socialization are not uniform across parents or emotion types. A study following maternal emotion socialization practices between ages 2 and 5 revealed that supportive strategies remained relatively stable over time, suggesting consistency in mothers' emotion-coaching behaviors across early childhood. In contrast, non-supportive strategies declined, particularly in response to emotions like worry, pointing to a developmental adaptation in caregiving. Interestingly, non-supportive responses to sadness increased linearly over time, suggesting that as children grow older, certain negative emotions may become less tolerated or are perceived as less age-appropriate can be potentially reflecting cultural or parental expectations regarding emotional maturity and cohesion (Price & Kiel, 2024). While longitudinal research has documented developmental changes in maternal emotion socialization practices, similar investigations focusing on fathers remain scarce, highlighting a significant gap in the literature regarding how paternal ES strategies evolve during early childhood.

Freidlmeier and colleagues (2011) reviewed the extant research and concluded that parents across different cultural backgrounds socialize their children to build relational and individualistic emotional competence regarding societal expectations. Relational emotional competence is highly valued in collectivist cultures (i.e. China, India), focusing on parenting practices that teach the importance of considering relationships (Chen et al., 2009). In contrast, individualistic emotional

competence is prioritized in individualistic cultures (i.e. USA, European countries), emphasizing parenting practices that encourage individuality and self-enhancement (Freidlmeier et al., 2011; Vishkin et al., 2023).

Cultural context significantly shapes how maternal and paternal emotion socialization (ES) influences child outcomes. The same ES behavior may lead to different developmental consequences across cultures. For example, non-supportive parental reactions are linked to lower socioemotional competence among European American children but show no such negative impact in Chinese or Indian samples (Song et al., 2019; Yang et al., 2020; Raval et al., 2022). In some cases, non-supportive responses have even been associated with better emotion regulation, suggesting that cultural norms influence not only parenting behaviors but also how such behaviors are interpreted by children. Therefore, what is specified as “supportive” or “non-supportive” can vary across societies that values interdependence versus independence (Raval, 2019).

Previous research also has highlighted the role of both parent and child gender in emotion socialization across different cultural contexts. Raval (2019) reviewed cross- and within-cultural studies, showing that caregivers’ responses to children’s emotions are shaped by broader sociocultural factors, including religious and societal norms. For instance, Indian immigrant and African American mothers were found to use more non-supportive responses compared to White and European American mothers. Similarly, Brown et al. (2015) found that mothers were generally more supportive than fathers across ethnic groups, particularly for daughters. However, cultural variations emerged for sons, while European American mothers were more supportive than fathers, African American fathers showed greater support than mothers, and Lumbee American parents did not differ. Interestingly, some

findings challenge gender stereotypes—for example, Chinese mothers were found to endorse boys' emotional expression more than girls' (Chan, 2009). These differences are often explained by culturally specific socialization goals, as parents encourage emotion expressions that align with their society's values (Raval, 2013).

In terms of Turkish cultural context, Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (2012) suggested the conceptualization of autonomous-related self for illustrating the influence of cultural values and expectations of Turkish parent's caregiving patterns. Concerning to this, empirical data shows that Turkish parents value both autonomy and relatedness, which indicates that they expect their children to be autonomous individuals while also conforming to societal rules and relatedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012). Regarding the gender stereotypes in Turkey, there are mixed findings about parental gendered ES on the literature. A study has shown that mothers were responding less supportively to their sons' expressions of sadness compared to the expressions of their daughters. (Ersay, 2014). Another study pointed to the differential treatment towards emotion expression of sons, as both mothers and fathers were using more non-supportive emotion responses towards their sons (Seçer & Karabulut, 2016). However, other studies conducted in Turkey, indicated no significant influence of child gender on mothers' responses for their children's emotion expressions (Corapci et al., 2012; Güven & Erden, 2017).

Socio-economic status (SES) is another marker that influences parental strategies on children's emotion expressions and the terms encompasses factors such as household income, parental education level, and living environment (urban vs. rural), etc. (Kohn, 1963). Research has consistently highlighted the profound impact of SES on parenting behavior since parents from lower socioeconomic status often face significant daily stress and economic challenges, which can also influence parents'

emotion responses to their children. (Fabes et al., 2002). Another evidence shows that lower SES is strongly correlated with a higher tendency toward non-supportive emotion socialization strategies, such as punitive or dismissive reactions to children's negative emotions (Martini et al., 2004). On the contrary, higher SES linked with decreased non-supportive ES, especially parents with higher levels of education, often use more supportive strategies that nurture emotion regulation and resilience in their children (Raval & Martini, 2009; Uyar et al., 2021). Lastly, research comparing living environment demonstrates that parents in high-SES urban communities tend to have more supportive reactions, while parents from low-SES rural areas often employ non-supportive strategies (Raval & Martini, 2009). Similar findings have been observed in Turkey, pointing the relationship between socioeconomic status and parental emotion socialization practices (Çorapçı et al., 2012; Uyar et al., 2021). Güven and Erden (2017) demonstrated that mothers' SES level negatively linked with children behavior problems in terms of the use non-supportive responses towards their children. In line with this finding, parental education degree is also linked with parental ES on various studies (Ersay, 2014; Uyar et al., 2021). Uyar and colleagues (2021) found that maternal post graduate degree is linked with the use of more supportive responses compared to maternal elementary degree. Furthermore, Ersay (2014) found that family income has a negative correlation with parental non-supportive responses to their children's emotions, and this pattern differs between parents residing in İstanbul and Ankara.

To summarize this section, a few studies in literature focused on varying influences on the relationship between parents' gender-differentiated emotion socialization behaviors to children's specific emotions and children's socioemotional adjustment across various sociocultural contexts. Based on these studies, the impact

of parental emotion socialization (ES) on children's socioemotional adjustment may vary depending not only on the specific emotion (e.g., sadness vs. anger) but also on the parent's gender. Supportive responses to sadness—particularly from mothers—have been linked to greater prosocial behavior and fewer internalizing symptoms, as such responses foster emotional understanding and empathy (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Fabes et al., 2001). Fathers' supportive responses to anger, on the other hand, may be interpreted as reinforcing assertiveness or externalizing tendencies, especially in boys (Chaplin et al., 2005). In contrast, non-supportive reactions—such as minimizing or punitive response—may lead to maladaptive outcomes, and these effects may be more pronounced when coming from fathers, who may be more likely to enforce traditional gender norms (Fivush, 1998; Denham et al., 2007). Thus, the interaction between the type of emotion, the nature of the parental response, and the parent's gender may result in distinct socioemotional adjustment trajectories for children. Therefore, examining this relationship in a diverse sample from Turkey will help clarify how it impacts children's socioemotional development in cultures like Turkey that emphasize psychological interdependence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999).

1.6 Current study

Parents' differential treatment is closely linked to the development of children's emotional competence. While previous research has examined how parents respond to children's negative emotions, findings remain mixed regarding whether these responses differ based on parent or child gender (Baker et al., 2011; Chaplin et al., 2005; Chen et al., 2015). Moreover, there is limited research on the extent to which these gendered emotion socialization (ES) patterns affect children's socioemotional

outcomes such as prosocial behavior and problem behaviors—particularly within non-Western cultural contexts such as Turkey (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007).

The present study focuses on two primary aims. First, it examines whether parental ES responses—supportive and non-supportive—differ based on (a) the gender of the parent (i.e. mother, father), (b) the gender of the child (i.e. boy, girl), and (c) the type of negative emotion expressed (i.e. anger, sadness). Building on this, we have investigated interaction effects that may reveal specific gender-based emotion socialization patterns. Second, the study explores whether parental ES responses are associated with children's socioemotional adjustment—specifically, prosocial behavior and problem behavior—and whether these associations vary by the gender of the parent and the child.

The current study places a significant focus on exploring whether parental emotional socialization (ES) responses differ based on the gender of the parent and the gender of the child. Thus, considering this aim, the following hypotheses are tested:

H1: There will be significant differences between Turkish mothers and fathers in their supportive and non-supportive emotion socialization (ES) responses to children's expressions of both anger and sadness.

H2: Parental emotion socialization (ES) responses are expected to differ depending on the interaction between the child's gender and the type of emotion expressed. In the case of girls, parents would be more supportive of sadness than anger. In the case of boys, parents would be more supportive of anger than sadness.

We also expected that fathers would display such gender-based socialization more than mothers.

H3: Supportive responses will positively predict prosocial behaviour and negatively predict behavioural problems. Non-supportive responses will negatively predict prosocial behaviour and positively predict behavioural problems. Moderation effects by parent and child gender will be explored to determine whether the strength or direction of these predictive relations varies depending on the gender of the parent and the child.



CHAPTER 2

METHODS

2.1 Participants

The current study includes a total of nationally representative 1399 Turkish parents of 3- 17-year-old children. Parents were married 605 fathers and ($M_{father\ age}=39.12$ years, $SD = 6.61$) and 794 mothers ($M_{mother\ age}=35.92$ years, $SD = 6.33$) with parental age range between 21 and 59 years. Parents have at least one child in their family between 3 to 17 ages. In the sample, parents with a high school degree represented the largest proportion (40.7%), followed by those with less than a high school education (40.0%) and those holding a college or graduate-level degree (21.4%). Regarding employment status, 94.9% of fathers and 25.4% of mothers were employed. Additionally, 94.1% of the families reside in urban areas. Table 1 presents parents' sociodemographic characteristics in the sample.

Among children, 52.2% were boys and 48.8% of them were girls ($N_{boys} = 605$, $N_{girls} = 789$). In terms of the age distribution of children, 29.5% of children were between 3-6 ages, 34.5% of children were between 7 – 11 ages and 36.5% children were between 12-17 ages ($M_{boy\ age}=9.84$ years, $SD = 4.15$; $M_{girl\ age}=9.42$ years, $SD = 4.11$). Majority of children have at least one sibling (65.3%), while 35.7% of them are only child ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 0.95$, $Range = 1-5$).

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Parents

Variables	Parents (<i>N</i> =1399)	
	<i>n</i>	%
Parent Gender (Female)	794	56.9
Child Gender (Male)	727	52.2
Child Age		
3-6 years	413	29.5
7-11 years	475	34.0
12-17 years	511	36.5
Educational Level		
Less than high school	558	40.0
High school	538	38.6
University or above	299	21.4
Number of Children in House		
Only one child	502	35.9
Two children	569	40.7
Three or more	327	23.4
Employment Status		
Currently working	814	58.2

2.2 Procedure

The current study utilizes data from the TÜBİTAK Project (118K032) regarding childrearing attitudes and behaviors in Turkey. The project included both quantitative and qualitative data collection. At first step, in-depth interviews were conducted with both parents for capturing culturally specific patterns of childrearing of Turkish parents. Building on this, parents' culture-specific practices were included into the original questionnaires and a pilot study was conducted to examine the psychometric characteristics of these expanded questionnaires. Finally, a quantitative study was conducted at the last step with a nationally representative sample using the refined measurement tools. The current research used data from the last step of the project on parental responses to their children's negative emotions, child socioemotional

adjustment, and family demographic information that represented nationally representative sample.

Mothers and fathers were recruited within the scope of TÜBİTAK-1003 “*Examination of Sociocultural and Psychological Antecedents and Consequences of Parenting Attitudes in Turkey in the Context of Intergenerational, Intragenerational, and Developmental Periods*” between August and December 2021. During face-to-face administration of surveys, participants were assured about the confidentiality of their personal information and were voluntarily accepted participating in the study by filling out consent form. Surveys were administered by trained employees of a research company. The administration of the surveys lasted on average 20-25 minutes. Ethical permission was provided by Ethics Sub-Committee of the Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects of Boğaziçi University.

2.3 Measures

2.3.1 Demographic information form

Parents were asked to complete a comprehensive demographic form regarding their age, gender, monthly income, educational level, number of children in household, age and gender of their children (See Appendix A).

2.3.2 Parental reactions to children negative emotions

In order to examine parental reactions to sadness and anger emotions in children, *Responses to Children’s Emotion Questionnaire* was used (RCE; O’Neal & Magai, 2005) The original scale was used by prior studies to investigate several socialization strategies of both mothers and fathers and to assess how often they use these

strategies in response to negative emotions (i.e., sadness, anger, fear, and overjoy) of their children (Hasting & De, 2008). The original questionnaire has different 15-items and uses a five-point Likert scale (e.g. “When my child was sad, I asked my child what made her/him sad”; 1 “never” to 5 “very often”). Parental responses to each emotion gathered under five domains of emotion socialization (i.e., rewarding, punishing, neglecting, distracting, magnifying).

In the current study, Turkish translated and adapted version of *Responses to Children’s Emotion Scale* was used. The questionnaire, referred to as “*Çocukların Duygularına Tepkiler Ölçeği (ÇDT)*” by Ebru Ersay (2014) has been employed in multiple studies within Turkey, demonstrating its reliability and validity (İyi & Çoban, 2020; İnce & Ersay, 2022). The preliminary qualitative study conducted within the scope of the TÜBİTAK 1003 project revealed that Turkish parents have also unique ways of responding to their child negative emotionality comparing to what is already specified that were not captured in the present questionnaire. As a result, six new items were generated based on the results of thematic analysis of the initial qualitative study. The resulting scale was factor analyzed, and two scales were developed, each containing 11 items for parents’ responses of sadness and anger. Each item was rated using a 3-point Likert scale (1=Never, 2=Sometimes, 3=Frequently). Scores of anger and sadness subscales combined under two common themes as supportive and non-supportive responses. Cronbach’s alphas of parents’ non-supportive and supportive responses to their children’s anger ES subscales were .64, and .54. Cronbach’s alphas of parents’ non-supportive and supportive responses to their children’s sadness ES subscales were .61, and .64. (See Appendix B)

2.3.3 Children socioemotional adjustment

To investigate socioemotional adjustment of children, Turkish adapted version of Robert Goodman's (1997) *The Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)* was performed. This scale has been used with parents of children from different backgrounds (e.g., Goodman & Goodman, 2009; Widenfelt et al., 2003; Malmberg et al., 2003; Muris et al., 2003) The original questionnaire consists 25 questions that were rated on 3-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not true) to 3 (Certainly true) (See Appendix C) The SDQ captures parental reports of positive and negative behaviors of children and consists following five subscales "Conduct Problems (CP)," "Hyperactivity and Inattention (HI)," "Emotional Symptoms (ES)," "Peer Problems (PP)," and "Prosocial Behaviors (PsB)" (Goodman & Goodman, 2009).

Güvenir et al. (2008) adapted and validated the original scale for the Turkish context, under the name of *Güçler ve Güçlükler Ölçeği (GGÖ)*. This scale has been administered in the Turkish context and shown good reliability for the Turkish population as well (Ayar et al., 2022; Acar et al., 2019). According to the results of the quantitative pilot phase of the project, four items from peer problems (PP) subscale are excluded and the rest of the questions gathered under two major subdimensions and those are problem behavior and prosocial behavior. There are 13 items with a Cronbach's alpha level of .76 for problem behavior, 8 items with a Cronbach's alpha level of .53 for prosocial behavior.

2.3.4 Temperament survey for children and adolescents

To assess children's and adolescents' temperament, *the Emotionality, Activity, and Sociability Temperament Survey (EAS; Buss & Plomin, 1984)* was employed in the present study. The original scale consists of three factors — emotionality, sociability,

and activity — measured through 20 items rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Never to 4 = Always). The emotionality subscale assesses children's tendency to display distress through 8 items, the activity subscale evaluates children's preference for physical engagement through 5 items, and the sociability subscale measures the desire for social interaction through 7 items. The scale was adapted into Turkish by Sümer et al. (2009) within the context of a TÜBİTAK-supported project, yielding a two-factor structure: emotional reactivity (8 items, i.e., “It takes time to warm up to people he/she does not know”).and sociability/extraversion (5 items, i.e., “He/She likes being together with people”). For children aged between 4 and 11 years, the Turkish adaptation of the EAS was administered, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients for emotional reactivity and sociability/extraversion being .63 and .60, respectively. For adolescents aged between 12 and 17 years, a translated version of the EAS, adapted for adults by Naerde and colleagues (2004), was used. This version also revealed a two-factor structure (emotional reactivity and sociability/extraversion) in prior studies, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .76 and .41, respectively. (See Appendix D)

2.4 Data analysis plan

Data analysis includes the following three steps using SPSS 29. In the first step, preliminary analysis is conducted to explore and understand the data for ensuring the validity of parametric tests for further analysis. Missing data was not included in the analysis. Descriptive statistics of study variables and a series of bivariate correlation analyses were carried out to investigate linear associations between all the variables of interest including study variables (e.g., parental ES, child socioemotional adjustment) and sociodemographic variables (e.g., child and parental gender & age,

temperament, education). Based on the results of correlation analyses, control variables were determined. Regarding child temperament scale, different versions of EAS scale performed for children aged between 4-11 and 12-17, separately. Due to that, by selecting cases of child age below 11 and above 12, remaining analyses were performed.

In the second step group differences between parent gender and child gender on emotion socialization practices were investigated. Two sets of multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVA) were conducted to examine whether supportive and non-supportive parental responses to children's emotional expressions differed as a function of parent and child gender across different emotion types (anger vs. sadness), while controlling child age and temperament. Finally, a series of multiple hierarchical linear regression analyses were performed, separately for two age groups of children (4–11-year-olds, 12–18-year-olds), to examine the role of parental ES, parent and child gender in predicting socioemotional adjustment outcomes (i.e. problem behaviors, prosocial behaviors). Before conducting regression analysis, continuous study variables in the dataset were centered based on mean scores to decrease the risk of multicollinearity. Then, assumptions of multivariate normality of residuals, homoscedasticity and autocorrelation were checked to ensure none of the assumptions are violated for further analysis.

The first set of analyses examined the predictive role of ES to anger on child outcomes, and the second set of regression analyses examined the predictive role of ES to sadness on child outcomes. In the first step of each regression analysis, control variables (i.e. child age, temperament) were entered, followed by the parent gender and child gender variables in the second step. In the third step, parental ES variables

(supportive ES, non-supportive ES) were entered. In the fourth step, four different two-way interaction terms were computed and entered the model. For the analyses that entailed anger socialization variables, these interaction terms were the following: supportive anger ES X parent gender, non-supportive anger ES X parent gender, supportive anger ES X child gender, non-supportive anger ES X child gender. For the analyses that entailed sadness socialization variables, these interaction terms were the following: supportive sadness ES X parent gender, non-supportive sadness ES X parent gender, supportive sadness ES X child gender, non-supportive sadness ES X child gender. In the last step, three-way interaction terms were added into the model. In the case of anger ES predictors, these interaction terms were supportive anger ES X parent gender X child gender and non-supportive anger ES X parent gender X child gender. In the case of significant interaction results, the nature of interactions was tested with simple slope analyses using the PROCESS Macro.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1 Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables

Descriptive statistics for the main study variables are presented in Table 2.

Independent samples tests were conducted to compare mothers' and fathers' ES reactions. Mothers reported significantly higher supportive reactions to children's sadness ($M = 2.23$, $SD = .43$) compared to fathers ($M = 2.15$, $SD = .44$), $t(1392) = 4.35$, $p < .05$. For other parental supportive and non-supportive reactions, although small mean differences were observed, these differences were not statistically significant across parents.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics by Parent and Child Gender (N=1381, all age groups combined)

Variables	Group	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Skewness</i>	<i>SE of Skewness</i>	<i>Kurtosis</i>	<i>SE of Kurtosis</i>
Supportive ES to Anger	Father	2.15	.44	1-3	-.19	.10	-.44	.20
	Mother	2.18	.43		-.25	.09	-.37	.17
Non-supportive ES to Anger	Father	1.72	.42	1-3	.17	.10	-.71	.20
	Mother	1.73	.42		.10	.09	-.75	.17
Non-supportive ES to Sadness	Father	1.66	.45	1-3	.22	.10	-.78	.20
	Mother	1.70	.45		.21	.09	-.75	.17
Supportive ES to Sadness	Father	2.18	.41	1-3	-.07	.10	-.57	.20
	Mother	2.23	.44		-.17	.09	-.56	.02
Child Prosocial Behavior	Boys	2.12	.25	1-3	-.15	.09	-.02	.18
	Girls	2.11	.24		-.10	.09	-.04	.19
Child Problem Behavior	Boys	1.68	.40	1-3	.13	.09	-.81	.18
	Girls	1.70	.40		.11	.09	-.77	.19
Supportive ES to Anger	Daughter	2.17	.43	1-3	-.24	.10	-.35	.19
	Son	2.17	.44		-.21	.09	-.43	.18
Non-supportive ES to Anger	Daughter	1.73	.41	1-3	.05	.10	-.78	.19
	Son	1.72	.42		.24	.09	-.69	.18
Non-supportive ES to Sadness	Daughter	1.70	.44	1-3	.12	.10	-.91	.19
	Son	1.66	.45		.32	.10	-.61	.18
Supportive ES to Sadness	Daughter	2.22	.44	1-3	-.15	.10	-.57	.19
	Son	2.20	.43		-.10	.09	-.55	.18

Table 3. Pearson Correlations Among Demographic, Child Adjustment, and Parental Emotion Socialization Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Parent Gender	—									
2. Parental Education	-.09**	—								
3. Child Gender	-.10**	.01	—							
4. Child Age	.06	-.17**	.03	—						
5. Child Prosocial Behavior	.02	.08**	.02	.03	—					
6. Child Problem Behavior	-.01	-.06*	-.02	-.03	-.27**	—				
7. Anger – Supportive ES	.04	-.01	.01	.06*	.24**	-.22**	—			
8. Anger – Non-supportive ES	.02	-.07**	-.01	.07**	-.19**	.50**	-.03	—		
9. Sadness – Supportive ES	.05	.02	-.02	.06*	.27**	-.28**	.65**	-.12**	—	
10. Sadness – Non-supportive ES	.04	-.11**	-.05	.03	-.20**	.55**	-.04	.65**	-.17**	—

Note: Child Gender: 1 = Female 2 = Male, Parent Gender: 1 = Male 2 = Female, all statistical tests were conducted using two-tailed significance criteria ($\alpha = .05$).

* $p < .05$ (two tailed)

** $p < 0.01$ (two tailed)

According to the association between demographic variables and parental ES, neither parental nor child gender was significantly associated with parental responses $p > .05$. Child age showed small but significant positive correlations with supportive parental responses to both anger and sadness ($r = .06$, $p < .05$), as well as with non-supportive reactions to anger ($r = .07$, $p < .001$). Child age was not significantly related to either prosocial or problem behaviors. Parental education level was negatively correlated with non-supportive responses to child sadness, $r = -.108$, $p < .001$, and to child anger, $r = -.069$, $p < .01$, suggesting that parents with higher levels of education endorsed fewer non-supportive emotion socialization for both anger and sadness. Additionally, parental education was positively associated with prosocial behavior ($r = .08$, $p < .01$) and negatively with problem behaviors ($r = -.06$, $p < .05$). Child temperament variables (emotional reactivity and sociability/extraversion) showed meaningful associations with both parenting and adjustment variables,

differing by age group. Among children aged 4–11, higher sociability was associated with more prosocial behavior ($r = .26, p < .001$) and fewer problem behaviors ($r = -.18, p < .001$). Lower emotional reactivity was similarly associated with fewer problem behaviors ($r = .42, p < .001$) and more prosocial behavior ($r = -.23, p < .001$). In contrast, among children aged 12–17, sociability was not significantly related to adjustment outcomes, but emotional reactivity remained a strong predictor of higher problem behavior ($r = .53, p < .001$) and lower prosocial behavior ($r = -.24, p < .001$). Finally, temperament traits were also associated with parental ES. Sociability was positively associated with supportive parental responses ($r_s = .25, p_s < .01$) to both anger and sadness, and negatively associated with non-supportive parental responses ($r_s = .10-.18, p_s < .01$), for both age groups. Whereas emotional reactivity was positively associated with non-supportive reactions ($r_s = .35-.53, p_s < .001$), suggesting that child temperament linked with parental ES among all the children

3.2 Group differences in parental emotion socialization responses

Two sets of multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVA) were conducted to examine whether supportive and non-supportive parental responses to children's emotional expressions differed as a function of parent and child gender across different emotion types (anger vs. sadness). Child age and temperamental characteristics were included as a covariate in all models. In terms of assumption testing, Box's M Test was nonsignificant in both age groups ($p_s > .05$), indicating equality of covariance matrices. Levene's Tests showed no significant deviations ($p_s > .05$), supporting the homogeneity of variances.

The first hypothesis aimed to explore the influence of parental gender on emotion socialization practices with analyses conducted separately for two distinct age groups. For children in between 4–11 years, there is no significant multivariate effect of parental gender, Wilks' $\Lambda = 1.000$, $F(4,848) = .106$, $p = .980$, $\eta^2 = .000$. All univariate comparisons were non-significant ($ps > .66$), indicating no differences between mothers and fathers in supportive or non-supportive responses.

For the adolescent group (12–17 years), the multivariate test was significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .964$, $F(4,493) = 4.546$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .036$, indicating an overall effect of parent gender. Univariate tests showed that mothers reported significantly higher levels of supportive responses to both anger $F(1, 496) = 10.69$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .021$, and sadness, $F(1, 496) = 15.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .029$, compared to fathers. No significant gender differences were found in non-supportive responses.

Table 4. Results of estimated marginal means by child emotion type, response type, and parent gender (12-17 years)

Emotion	Response Type	Mother (M $\pm$ SE)	Father (M $\pm$ SE)	<i>p</i>	η^2 □
Sadness	Supportive	2.303 $\pm$.024	2.157 $\pm$.026	<.001	.029
Sadness	Non-supportive	1.715 $\pm$.023	1.671 $\pm$.025	.191	.003
Anger	Supportive	2.243 $\pm$.024	2.120 $\pm$.026	.001	.021
Anger	Non-supportive	1.742 $\pm$.023	1.742 $\pm$.024	.998	.000

Note. Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons showed significant differences between parental gender in models ($p < .001$). All means were adjusted for child age and temperament.

In line with Hypothesis 2 (H2), it was expected that mothers and fathers' emotion socialization (ES) responses to anger and sadness would vary depending on the child's gender. No significant main effects were found for child gender individually (all $ps > .05$) for both age groups.

For children's expression of anger, significant multivariate interactions were found between parent gender and child gender on non-supportive ES responses in both age groups, (4–11 years: Wilks' $\Lambda = .990$, $F(2, 847) = 4.257$, $p = .014$, $\eta^2 = .010$; 12–17 years: Wilks' $\Lambda = .988$, $F(2, 496) = 3.039$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2 = .012$). In terms of non-supportive parental responses to child anger, significant interactions between parent and child gender were explored further through simple effects analysis. Among fathers of younger children, the simple effect of child gender was statistically significant, $F(1, 848) = 6.543$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .008$. Fathers reported more non-supportive responses to girls' anger ($M = 1.77$, $SE = .031$) than to boys' anger ($M = 1.66$, $SE = .027$). Among mothers, there was no significant difference in non-supportive responses to girls' and boys' anger, ($p = .149$). This result suggests non-acceptability of anger for girls (4-11 years) by fathers, given that it was only fathers who respond with more non-supportive responses to girls' anger than to boys' anger. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 1.

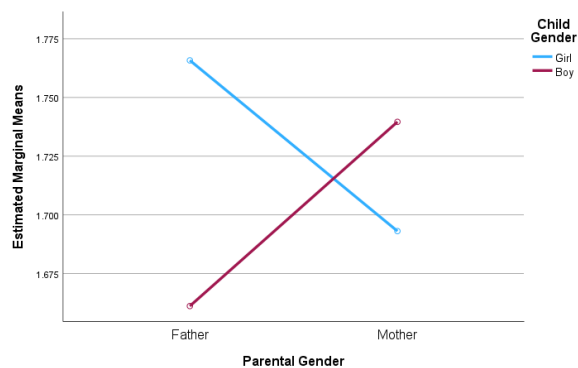


Figure 1. Estimated marginal means of non-supportive responses to children's anger by parent and child gender (4–11 ages)

Among mothers of older children, the simple effect of child gender was marginally significant, $F(1, 497) = 3.833, p = .051, \eta^2 = .008$. Mothers reported more non-supportive responses to boys' anger ($M = 1.79, SE = .034$) and fewer responses to girls ($M = 1.70, SE = .031$). Among fathers, there was no significant difference between girls and boys, ($p = .152$), suggesting non-acceptability of anger for older boys by mothers. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 2.

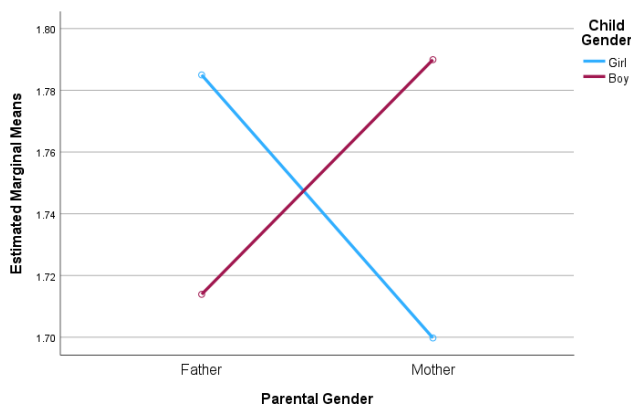


Figure 2. Estimated marginal means of non-supportive responses to children's anger by parent and child gender (12-17 ages)

For children's expression of sadness, multivariate effects revealed no significant interaction between parent gender and child gender on sadness-related emotion socialization responses for both age groups. The parent $\times$ child gender interaction was non-significant at both the multivariate (all $ps > .05$) and univariate levels for both supportive and non-supportive responses (all $ps > .05$). No significant simple effects were found in pairwise comparisons. These findings suggest no gender-related difference in parental responses to sadness in early & middle childhood, and adolescents regardless of whether the parent was the mother or father, or children was a boy or girl.

3.3 Hierarchical regression and moderation analyses

Eight hierarchical regression analyses were performed separately to investigate predictors of children's socioemotional adjustment (i.e. prosocial behavior and problem behavior). Before conducting each analysis, the following information was checked, respectively. Multicollinearity was checked via VIF and tolerance scores; main predictors had acceptable VIF values (range = 1.01–10.81). All predictors were mean-centered to reduce multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1991), and interaction effects were interpreted cautiously. Independence of residuals was supported by the Durbin-Watson statistics in between 1.5-2.5. No significant outliers or influential cases were identified, as all standardized residuals were within ± 3.5 and Cook's Distance values were within acceptable range. The histogram and P-P plot indicated that the residuals were normally distributed. The scatterplot of standardized residuals against predicted values revealed no evidence of heteroscedasticity or nonlinearity. Overall, the data met the assumptions of hierarchical multiple regression.

3.3.1 Predictors of child prosocial behavior by parental ES to anger

Two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, one analysis for children in between 4–11 years and a second analysis for children in between 12-17 years. These analyses examined the predictive roles of ES responses on prosocial behavior and whether parent and/or child gender moderates the relationship between parental responses to children's anger and prosocial behavior. while accounting for child temperament and age.

In predicting prosocial behaviors for 4–11-year-old children from anger socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. In the third

step, anger supportive responses significantly predicted prosocial behavior ($\beta = .162$, $t = 4.858$, $p = .001$). Anger non-supportive responses showed a significant negative prediction ($\beta = -.102$, $t = -2.930$, $p = .003$). These effects were significant after controlling child age, child emotionality, and sociability. Two-way and three-way interaction terms did not reach statistical significance (see Table 5).

Table 5. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Prosocial Behavior from Parental Responses to Anger (Children Aged 4–11)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	.000	.003	-.002	-0.60	.954	.113
	Emotionality	-.099	.015	-.211	-6.451	<.001	
	Sociability	.096	.013	.244	7.489	<.001	
2	Parent Gender	0.019	.016	.037	1.135	.257	.002
	Child Gender	0.013	.016	.025	.772	.441	
3	Non-supportive (Anger)	-.062	.021	-.102	-2.930	.003	.031
	Supportive (Anger)	.091	.019	.162	4.858	<.001	
4	NS Anger x Parent Gender	0.042	.040	.116	1.067	.286	.004
	S Anger x Parent Gender	-.003	.037	-.009	-.082	.935	
	NS Anger x Child Gender	.012	.039	.031	.300	.764	
	S Anger x Child Gender	-.063	.036	-.181	-1.744	.081	
5	Three-way (NS $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	-.019	.080	-.084	-.241	.810	.003
	Three-way (S $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	.144	.074	.679	1.944	.052	

Note. Dependent Variable: Prosocial Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

In predicting prosocial behaviors for 12–17-year-old children from anger socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. Both supportive responses to anger ($\beta = .223$, $t = 5.057$, $p < .001$), and non-supportive responses to anger ($\beta = -.124$, $t = -2.589$, $p = .010$) significantly predicted prosocial

behavior, in a positive and negative direction, respectively. Two-way and three-way interaction terms did not reach statistical significance (see Table 6).

3.3.2 Predictors of child problem behavior by parental ES to anger

Two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, one analysis for children aged 4–11, and a second analysis for children aged 12–17 years. These analyses examined the predictive roles of ES responses on problem behavior and whether parent and/or child gender moderates the relationship between parental responses to children's anger and problem behavior. while accounting for child temperament and age.

Table 6. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Prosocial Behavior from Parental Responses to Anger (Children Aged 12–17)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	-.002	.006	-.017	-0.382	.703	
	Emotionality	-.097	.018	-.238	-5.481	<.001	
	Sociability	.026	.020	.057	1.321	.187	.062
2	Parent Gender	.015	.022	.030	0.673	.501	
	Child Gender	-.015	.022	-.031	-0.714	.475	.002
3	Non-supportive (Anger)	-.072	.028	-.124	-2.589	.010	
	Supportive (Anger)	.131	.026	.223	5.057	<.001	.057
4	NS Anger x Parent Gender	.075	.050	.207	1.487	.138	
	S Anger x Parent Gender	-.025	.051	-.068	-0.493	.622	
	NS Anger x Child Gender	.007	.050	.033	0.143	.886	
	S Anger x Child Gender	.005	.051	.024	0.091	.928	.005
5	Three-way (NS $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	.028	.077	.249	0.362	.717	
	Three-way (S $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	-.025	.062	-.262	-0.410	.682	.000

Note. Dependent Variable: Prosocial Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

In predicting problem behaviors for 4–11-year-old children from anger socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. In terms of parental ES, supportive responses significantly predicted lower problem behavior ($\beta = -.168, t = -5.790, p < .001$) and non-supportive responses significantly predicted higher problem behavior ($\beta = .394, t = 13.038, p < .001$). Furthermore, one of the three-way interactions (non-supportive anger ES $\times$ parent $\times$ child gender) reached statistical significance ($p = .033$), indicating that the relationship between non-supportive responses and child problem behavior may differ depending on both the parent's and the child's gender (see Table 7).

Table 7. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Problem Behavior from Parental Responses to Anger (Children Aged 4–11)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	-.004	.005	-.027	-0.870	.384	
	Emotionality	.302	.023	.407	13.124	<.001	
	Sociability	-.091	.019	-.146	-4.716	<.001	.200
2	Parent Gender	-.009	.025	-.012	-.374	.708	
	Child Gender	-.015	.024	-.019	-.626	.532	.000
3	Non-supportive (Anger)	.379	.029	.394	13.038	<.001	
	Supportive (Anger)	-.150	.026	-.168	-5.790	<.001	.150
4	NS Anger $\times$ Parent Gender	-.011	.055	-.019	-.199	.842	
	S Anger $\times$ Parent Gender	.006	.051	.011	.116	.908	
	NS Anger $\times$ Child Gender	.017	.054	.046	.316	.752	
	S Anger $\times$ Child Gender	.035	.050	.117	.698	.486	.000
5	Three-way (NS $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	.236	.110	.651	2.137	.033	
	Three-way (S $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	-.111	.102	-.331	-1.086	.278	.004

Note. Dependent Variable: Problem Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

Figure 3 represented the nature of the interaction between non-supportive responses, parent gender, and child gender. To interpret this three-way interaction,

two-way interactions were explored for boys and girls separately. Simple slopes analysis revealed that non-supportive parental responses positively predicted problem behavior in all parent-child combinations: father–daughter ($b = .426, p < .001$), father–son ($b = .316, p < .001$), mother–daughter ($b = .301, p < .001$), and mother–son ($b = .418, p < .001$). Although all effects were significant and had strong effect size, the association appeared strongest in father–daughter and mother–son dyads (see Figure 3).

In predicting problem behaviors for 12–17-year-old children from anger socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. Anger-supportive responses significantly predicted lower problem behavior ($\beta = -.171, t = -5.063, p < .001$), and non-supportive responses significantly predicted higher problem behavior ($\beta = .280, t = 7.614, p < .001$). Furthermore, the two-way and three-way interaction terms added in subsequent steps did not reach statistical significance (see Table 8).

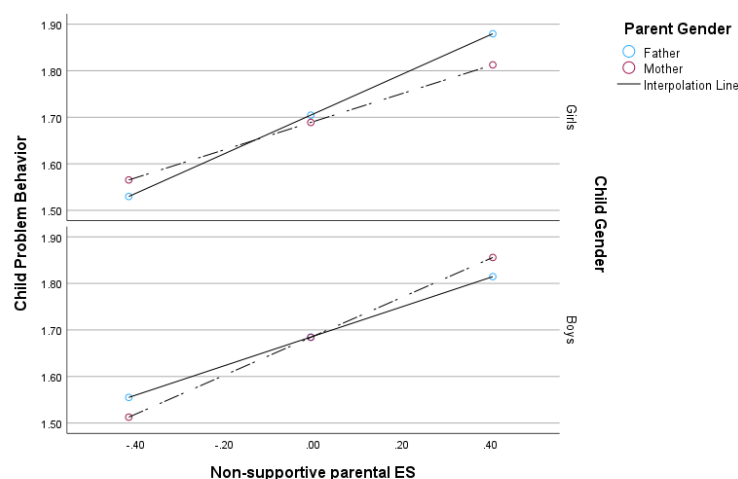


Figure 3. Three-way interaction between parental non-supportive responses to child anger, parent gender and child gender in predicting child problem behavior

Table 8. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Problem Behavior from Parental Responses to Anger (Children Aged 12–17)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	0.006	.008	.027	0.775	.439	
	Emotionality	0.420	.023	.629	18.029	<.001	
	Sociability	0.037	.026	.050	1.437	.151	.395
2	Parent Gender	–0.027	.029	–.033	–.942	.347	
	Child Gender	–0.016	.029	–.020	–.558	.577	.001
3	Non-supportive (Anger)	0.268	.035	.280	7.614	<.001	
	Supportive (Anger)	–0.166	.033	–.171	–5.063	<.001	.087
4	NS $\times$ Parent Gender	–0.089	.063	–.149	–1.403	.161	
	S $\times$ Parent Gender	–0.047	.064	–.077	–.733	.464	
	NS $\times$ Child Gender	0.092	.063	.254	1.451	.147	
	S $\times$ Child Gender	0.001	.064	.004	0.019	.984	.005
5	Three-way (NS $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	0.062	.096	.342	0.650	.516	
	Three-way (S $\times$ PG $\times$ CG)	–0.032	.078	–.198	–0.405	.685	.001

Note. Dependent Variable: Problem Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

3.3.3 Predictors of child prosocial behavior by parental ES to sadness

Two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, one analysis for children in between 4–11 years and a second analysis for children in between 12–17 years. These analyses examined the predictive roles of ES responses to sadness on prosocial behavior and whether parent and/or child gender moderates the relationship between parental responses to children’s sadness and prosocial behavior, while accounting for child temperament and age.

In predicting prosocial behaviors for 4–11-year-old children from sadness socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. Only supportive responses to sadness ($\beta = .183$, $t = 5.439$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted prosocial behavior, whereas non-supportive responses did not ($\beta = -.053$, $t = -1.504$,

$p = .133$). In the last step, a three-way interaction between supportive ES $\times$ parent $\times$ child gender was significant ($\beta = .732$, $t = 2.007$, $p = .045$), suggesting that the effect of supportive emotion socialization on prosocial behavior varies based on both the parent's and the child's gender for children between 4 -11-year-olds (see Table 9). The nature of the interaction tested whether the association between non-supportive parental responses to sadness and child prosocial behavior was moderated by parent gender and child gender. The three-way interaction was significant ($\beta = .141$, $p = .040$), suggesting that the relationship between non-supportive responses and prosocial behavior may depend on both the parent's and the child's gender. Simple slopes analyses revealed that supportive responses significantly predicted higher prosocial behavior when expressed by fathers to daughters ($\beta = .186$, $p < .001$), and by mothers to both girls ($\beta = .078$, $p = .015$) and boys ($\beta = .124$, $p = .003$). The effect was not significant for fathers toward sons ($p = .066$). (See Figure 4)

Table 9. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Prosocial Behavior from Parental Responses to Sadness (Children Aged 4–11)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	-.000	.003	.000	-0.005	.996	.112
	Emotionality	-.099	.015	-.212	-6.467	<.001	
	Sociability	.096	.013	.241	7.401	<.001	
2	Parent Gender	.019	.016	.038	1.169	.243	.002
	Child Gender	.012	.016	.024	.730	.466	
3	Non-supportive Responses (Sadness)	-.030	.020	-.053	-1.504	.133	.035
	Supportive Responses (Sadness)	.105	.019	.183	5.439	<.001	
4	NS Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	.050	.038	.146	1.331	.184	.002
	S Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.013	.039	-.040	-.344	.731	
	NS Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.014	.037	.060	.379	.705	
	S Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	-.006	.038	-.030	-.152	.879	
5	NS Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.049	.075	.226	.649	.516	.004
	S Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.157	.078	.232	2.007	.045	

Note. Dependent Variable: Prosocial Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

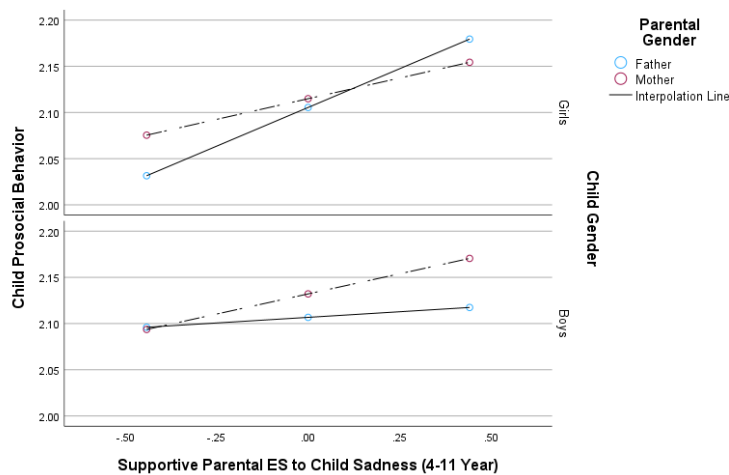


Figure 4. Three-way interaction between parental supportive responses to child sadness, parent gender and child gender in predicting child prosocial behavior

In predicting prosocial behaviors for 12–17-year-old children from parental responses to sadness, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age, emotionality, and sociability. In the third step, supportive responses to sadness significantly predicted higher prosocial behavior ($\beta = .211, t = 4.736, p < .001$), and non-supportive responses significantly predicted lower prosocial behavior ($\beta = -.160, t = -3.172, p = .002$). Importantly, in the final step, a significant three-way interaction was found between supportive responses, parent gender, and child gender ($\beta = .257, t = 2.724, p = .007$), suggesting that the effect of supportive emotion socialization on prosocial behavior varies based on both the parent's and the child's gender for children between 12- and 17 years, as well. (see Table 10).

Table 10. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Prosocial Behavior from Parental Responses to Sadness (Children Aged 12–17)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	-.003	.006	-.020	-0.458	.647	
	Emotionality	-.096	.018	-.238	-5.462	<.001	
	Sociability	.027	.020	.059	1.366	.172	.062
2	Parent Gender	.014	.022	.028	0.628	.530	
	Child Gender	-.017	.022	-.034	-0.765	.445	.002
3	Non-supportive Responses	-.087	.028	-.160	-3.172	.002	
	Supportive Responses	.124	.026	.211	4.736	<.001	.060
4	NS Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	.076	.048	.223	1.602	.110	
	S Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.005	.052	-.015	-0.105	.916	
	NS Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.030	.048	.135	0.635	.526	
	S Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.023	.052	.117	0.447	.655	.006
5	NS Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.131	.095	.618	1.384	.167	
	S Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.284	.104	.257	2.724	.007	.014

Note. Dependent Variable: Prosocial Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

The nature of the interaction between supportive parental responses to sadness and adolescent prosocial behavior was moderated by parent gender and child gender. The three-way interaction was statistically significant ($\beta = .257$, $p = .013$). The three-way interaction was probed by exploring two-way supportive response $\times$ parent gender for boys and girls, separately. Simple slope analyses indicated that supportive responses to sadness significantly predicted higher prosocial behavior when provided by fathers to daughters ($\beta = .221$, $p < .001$) and by mothers to sons ($\beta = .186$, $p < .001$). The effect was not significant for fathers toward sons ($p = .056$) or mothers toward daughters ($p = .220$). These results suggest that parent–child gender

combinations play an important role in how supportive emotion socialization fosters prosocial behavior during adolescence (see Figure 5).

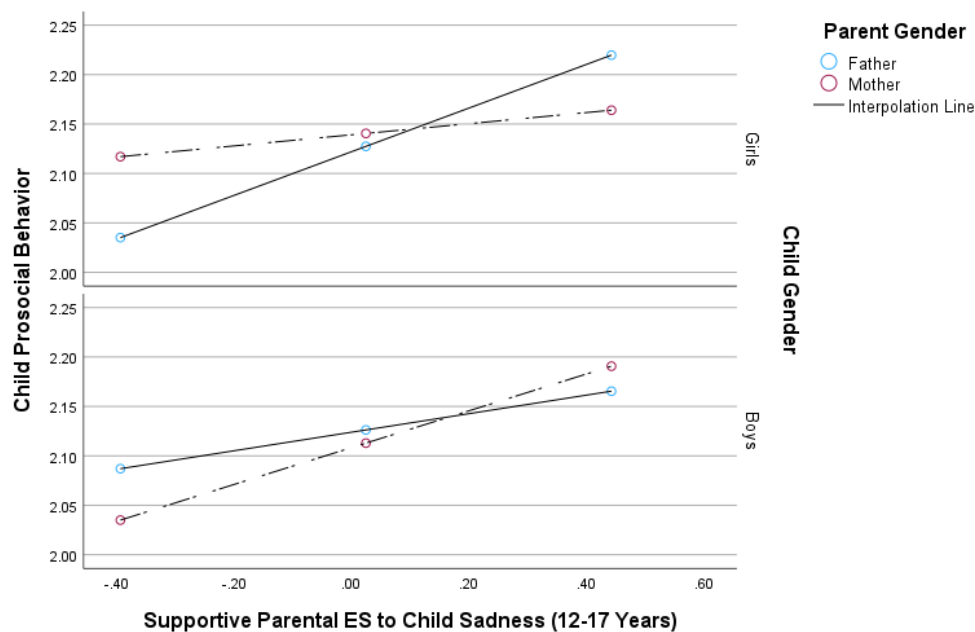


Figure 5. Three-way interaction between parental supportive responses to child sadness, parent gender and child gender in predicting child prosocial behavior

3.3.4 Predictors of child problem behavior by parental ES to sadness

Two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted, one analysis for children in between 4–11 years and a second analysis for children in between 12–17 years. These analyses examined the predictive roles of ES responses to sadness on problem behavior and whether parent and/or child gender moderates the relationship between parental responses to children's sadness and problem behavior, while accounting for child temperament and age.

In predicting problem behaviors for 4–11-year-old children from sadness socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. Both supportive responses to sadness ($\beta = -.192$, $t = -6.660$ $p < .001$), non-supportive

responses ($\beta = .391, t = 12.854, p < .001$) significantly predicted prosocial behavior, in a negative and positive direction, respectively. Two-way interaction between supportive responses and parent gender was significant ($\beta = -.232, t = -2.349, p = .019$), suggesting that the effect of supportive emotion socialization on child problem behavior varied by parent gender. However, other interactions and three-way interaction terms did not reach statistical significance (see Table 11).

A moderation analysis (PROCESS Model 1) examined how the association between supportive parental responses to sadness and child problem behavior differed by parent gender. Results of simple slope analysis illustrated that supportive responses significantly predicted lower problem behavior for both fathers ($b = -.135, p = .003$) and mothers ($b = -.260, p < .001$), with a slightly stronger negative effect observed for mothers (see Figure 6).

In predicting problem behaviors for 12–17-year-old children from sadness socialization responses, there were no significant main effects of parent gender or child gender ($ps > .05$) after controlling for child age and temperament. Both supportive responses to sadness ($\beta = -.124, t = -3.641, p < .001$), non-supportive responses ($\beta = .331, t = 8.610, p < .001$) significantly predicted prosocial behavior, respectively. None of the two-way or three-way interaction terms reached statistical significance (see Table 12)

Table 11. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Problem Behavior from Parental Responses to Sadness (Children Aged 4–11)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	-.005	.005	-.028	-0.899	.369	.200
	Emotionality	.302	.023	.407	13.119	<.001	
	Sociability	-.090	.019	-.144	-4.658	<.001	
2	Parent Gender	-.010	.025	-.012	-0.386	.699	.000
	Child Gender	-.015	.025	-.019	-0.609	.543	
3	Non-supportive Responses Sadness	.350	.027	.391	12.854	<.001	.174
	Supportive Responses Sadness	-.174	.026	-.192	-6.660	<.001	
4	NS Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.096	.051	-.177	-1.890	.059	.009
	S Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.124	.053	-.232	-2.349	.019	
	NS Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.098	.050	.264	1.947	.052	
	S Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.024	.051	.079	.467	.641	
5	NS Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.014	.057	.094	.243	.808	.001
	S Sadness $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.007	.074	.039	.096	.923	

Note. Dependent Variable: Problem Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

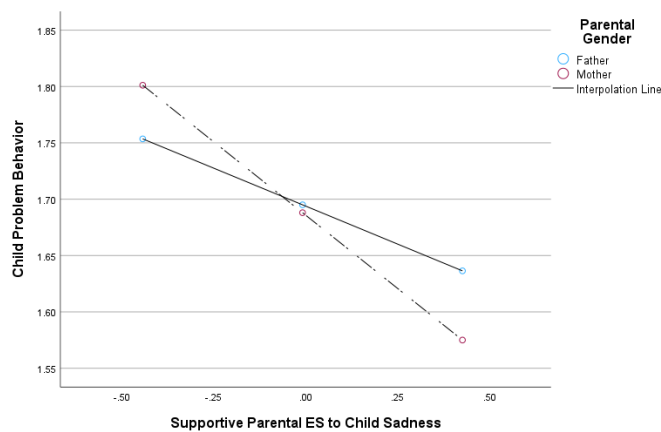


Figure 6. Two-way interaction between parental supportive responses to child sadness and parent gender in predicting child problem behavior

Table 12. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Problem Behavior from Parental Responses to Sadness (Children Aged 12–17)

Step	Predictor	B	SE	β	t	p	ΔR^2
1	Child Age	.007	.008	.029	0.823	.411	
	Emotionality	.419	.023	.629	18.005	<.001	
	Sociability	.037	.026	.049	1.404	.161	.395
2	Parent Gender	-.026	.029	-.032	-0.914	.361	
	Child Gender	-.015	.029	-.019	-0.526	.599	.001
3	Non-supportive Responses Sadness	.297	.035	.331	8.610	<.001	
	Supportive Responses Sadness	-.120	.033	-.124	-3.641	<.001	.093
4	NS Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.115	.059	-.205	-1.936	.053	
	S Sadness $\times$ Parent Gender	-.082	.065	-.136	-1.253	.211	
	NS Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.079	.059	.142	1.323	.186	
	S Sadness $\times$ Child Gender	.093	.064	.152	1.451	.147	.009
5	NS $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.065	.119	.186	0.544	.587	
	S $\times$ PG $\times$ CG	.105	.131	.265	0.797	.426	.000

Note. Dependent Variable: Problem Behavior. PG = Parent Gender; CG = Child Gender; NS = Non-supportive response; S = Supportive response. ΔR^2 in bold, illustrates significant F change at $p < .001$.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

4.1 Findings of the present study

Given the important role of parental emotion socialization in children's socio-emotional functioning, this study has focused on revealing how gender—of both parent and child—influences emotion socialization practices within the family environment, and how it relates to children's adjustment. The overarching goals of this study were twofold: (a) to examine how parents respond to children's expressions of sadness and anger by assessing whether parental emotion socialization behaviors vary as a function of both parent and child gender, and (b) to explore whether gender moderates the associations between supportive and non-supportive parental responses and children's socio-emotional adjustment during childhood and adolescence.

In this study, it was hypothesized that mothers would report higher levels of supportive parental responses and lower levels of non-supportive reactions to their children's expressions of anger and sadness compared to fathers. Findings partially supported the first hypothesis, indicating that mothers provided significantly more supportive responses to children's sadness and anger compared to fathers for only adolescents, while no such differences emerged in non-supportive responses and early and middle childhood groups of children. First of all, this finding aligns with existing literature emphasizing that mothers still have primary responsibility in child rearing, (e.g., Denham et al., 2007, Eisenberg et al., 1996) and in culturally collectivist contexts such as Turkey (Sümer et al., 2010). Turkish mothers are often more emotionally attuned to their children's needs due to their traditionally main

caregiving role (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Although fathers are increasingly involved in caregiving, they may still adhere to social roles, offering less emotional scaffolding but rather ensure discipline authority and has a loving playmate role in the family (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002). Secondly, as children grow up parents may expect their children to find strategies to manage their negative emotions and be more emotionally competent. Especially from the perspective of fathers, adolescents display of negative emotion is more likely to be ignored or dismissed by fathers, comparing to their mothers' perspective (Garside, 2014, Klimes-Dougan et al. 2007). Lastly, since non-supportive parental responses did not differ in either context, it can be inferred as both parents follow a similar pattern in non-supportive emotion socialization practices when it comes to discouraging or dismissing children's negative emotion expressions (i.e. anger, sadness). The lack of significant differences in non-supportive responses may reflect a convergence in parenting roles or similar awareness in parental emotion socialization practices, among fathers and mothers. Alternatively, it is possible that self-report biases led to underreporting of non-supportive practices.

The findings partially supported Hypothesis 2 (H2), demonstrating that parental emotion socialization (ES) responses to children's emotional expressions of anger, but not sadness, varied by parent and child gender. Specifically, for anger, interaction effects between parent and child gender observed in both early and middle childhood and adolescence, although the parent-child pattern was differed across developmental stages. For early and middle childhood, only fathers demonstrated gender-differentiated responses, offering significantly fewer non-supportive reactions to boys' expressions of anger compared to girls. This may reflect early reinforcement of gender-congruent emotional expressions, wherein

boys' displays of anger are viewed as more acceptable by fathers, but for girls' display it perceived as a deviation from stereotypically "acceptable" forms (Chaplin et al., 2005; Hastings & De, 2008). For adolescents, the pattern reversed: only mothers exhibited significant differentiation, reporting fewer non-supportive responses to daughters' anger than to sons. This developmental shift may reflect changing parental expectations during adolescence, where mothers may be more attuned to daughters' emotional needs or more likely to encourage emotional regulation through supportive strategies (Rose & Rudolph, 2006). These findings may also suggest a cross-gender pattern in non-supportive emotion socialization, where each parent appears to react more negatively to the emotional expressions of opposite-gender children. This may reflect gender-role expectations and discomfort with gender-incongruent emotional displays (Chaplin & Aldao, 2013). In sum, moderation effects revealed that fathers were particularly non-supportive of daughters' expressions of anger, while mothers were more non-supportive toward sons' anger, reinforcing a cross-gender vulnerability. As theorized in the differential emotion's framework, such selective discouragement of anger in girls may increase their reliance on internalized affect like sadness or anxiety, potentially setting a trajectory toward internalizing difficulties. Rather, boys in this study were subjected to more non-supportive socialization, particularly by mothers, suggesting that anger in boys may be signaling lower tolerance for overt expressions of anger in boys than traditionally assumed.

The non-supportive patterns suggest heightened sensitivity to parental individual factors and gender-norm consistency, as also mentioned in prior studies (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002). These findings suggest that supportive emotion socialization practices may be more consistent across gender, possibly reflecting

cultural shifts toward more egalitarian parenting or social desirability biases in self-reported supportiveness, again. Additionally, it also aligns with studies indicating that gendered expectations around emotional expression are more likely to occur in controlling or minimizing responses rather than in supportive behaviors (Chaplin et al., 2005, Chaplin, 2015). Similarly, mothers increased non-supportive responses to sons' anger may reflect concern over aggressive or socially disruptive behavior, even though it is considered as in line with gender norms. These findings align with theories such as gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) and social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), which suggest that parents reinforce emotion expression patterns that conform to cultural gender roles and those roles are learnt by proximal environment.

Interestingly, no gender-based differences were observed in parental responses to sadness at any age. This lack of differentiation contradicts some prior findings suggesting that girls receive more support for sadness, potentially because sadness is stereotypically associated with femininity (Brody & Hall, 2000). One possible explanation is that both mothers and fathers may consider sadness a more acceptable emotion across genders, especially as children grow older, or that socially desirable responding may have masked more particular gender patterns.

Alternatively, it may reflect a shift in parental socialization strategies toward emotional egalitarianism in more recent cohorts, in line with the previous empirical findings (Root & Robin, 2010; Cassano et al., 2014; Chaplin & Aldao, 2013). The findings can be interpreted within the framework of gender socialization, suggesting that gendered expectations and norms influence the development of emotional and behavioral patterns from an early age. Identity theory further supports this by emphasizing that gendered social roles contribute significantly to the formation of self-identity.

The third hypothesis suggested that for both child anger and sadness, supportive parental responses would positively predict children's prosocial behavior and negatively predict problem behavior, while non-supportive responses would show the opposite pattern. The findings fully supported this hypothesis across both age groups (i.e. 4-11 years, 12-17 years) and both child emotions (i.e. anger and sadness). These findings align with previous research indicating that parental emotional support enhances children's development of prosocial behavior and emotional regulation (Eisenberg et al., 2001; Denham et al., 2010). Supportive responses likely provide children with models for effective emotion regulation and socially appropriate behavior, while non-supportive responses may increase stress reactivity, behavioral dysregulation, and aggressive or externalizing behaviors (Morris et al., 2007; Fabes et al., 2001). These results remained significant even after controlling covariate variables such as child temperamental characteristics and age. The predictive role of emotion socialization practices across both age groups suggests that emotion socialization practices remain an important contributor to children's adjustment well into adolescence, even the strength of the associations was slightly greater in the younger group (ages 4–11). This may reflect a developmental shift where early emotion socialization has a foundational role, while older youth may rely on peer influence and socialization of others (Morris et al., 2022)

In terms of the moderating role of parental and child gender for predicting child adjustment, In the younger age group (4–11 years), two significant three-way interactions emerged for predicting problem behavior: For non-supportive responses to anger, the strength of association with child problem behavior varied across

parent–child gender dyads, with the strongest association observed in father–daughter and mother–son pairs. These patterns suggest the presence of cross-gender vulnerabilities, where children may be particularly sensitive to the emotion socialization behaviors of opposite-gender parents (Cassano et al., 2007), especially in young ages. One possible interpretation is that children may be more prone for receiving emotionally negative feedback from opposite-gender parents, particularly when that feedback violates expectations for care and understanding (Zahn-Waxler et al., 2002; Morris et al., 2007). Similarly, a significant two-way interaction between parent gender and child problem behavior was also found for supportive responses to sadness in the younger age group, with stronger negative associations observed among mothers. That is, mothers’ supportive responses were more strongly related to reduced problem behavior than fathers’, possibly reflecting maternal emphasis on emotional nurturance and relational problem-solving (Denham et al., 2010). This indicates that gender moderation effects may be more relevant for externalizing difficulties than for prosocial capacities, and more pronounced in childhood than adolescence.

Across both age groups, a three-way interactions emerged in predicting prosocial behavior from supportive responses to sadness in both children and adolescents. In childhood, fathers’ supportive responses to sadness were most strongly associated with increased prosocial behavior in daughters, while mothers’ supportive responses were predictive for both sons and daughters. This finding is in line with the previous study showing that, maternal supportive responses was linked with coping skills (Eisenberg et al., 1996) In adolescence, this pattern evolved: fathers’ supportive responses to daughters and mothers’ responses to sons predicted higher prosocial behavior, whereas these effects were not significant in same-gender

dyads (e.g., father–son or mother–daughter). These findings underscore how cross-gender parent–child dyads may be especially sensitive to emotionally supportive interactions, possibly because such interactions can disrupt traditional gender role expectations and are therefore more impactful when they occur (Cassano et al., 2007; Chaplin & Aldao, 2013).

Findings from the present study align with the differential emotions model (O’Neal and Magai, 2005), which posits that parental responses to discrete emotions, such as anger and sadness, contribute uniquely to the development of internalizing and externalizing symptoms. In line with this model, non-supportive parental responses to anger were robust predictors of child higher problem behaviors, while supportive responses to sadness were more strongly associated with lower problem behavior, and higher prosocial behavior for both age groups. This emotion-specific pattern of associations highlights how socialization practices may direct children toward emotional regulatory strategies and behavioral outcomes.

The present findings highlight the importance of considering parental and child gender when examining emotion socialization processes and their associations with child adjustment. Consistent with family systems theory, our results support the idea that mothers and fathers contribute differentially to children’s emotional development (Cheung et al., 2018). Specifically, maternal emotion socialization practices—particularly supportive discussions about emotions—were found to have a buffering effect on children’s problem behavior, supporting previous evidence that maternal emotion coaching predicts the negative effects of inconsistent discipline. In contrast, paternal parenting practices appeared to increase stronger effects through behavioral dimensions, with both supportive and inconsistent strategies predicting child adjustment outcomes. This aligns with findings by Verhoeven et al. (2010),

who showed that paternal support and psychological control significantly influenced boys' problem behavior. Interestingly, the current study found that child gender did not moderate the effects of emotion socialization, suggesting that maternal emotion coaching was equally beneficial for boys and girls—a pattern also observed in Raval et al. (2014), where maternal supportive responses to negative emotions predicted adaptive outcomes regardless of child gender (see review Raval, 2019). These findings underscore the unique roles of mothers and fathers in fostering children's socioemotional functioning and emphasize the necessity of considering gender of both parents and children in emotion socialization research (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

4.2 Implications and future directions

Taken together, these results underscore the importance of both emotion socialization style (supportive vs. non-supportive) and parent–child gender dynamics in shaping children's emotional and behavioral adjustment. The findings also suggest that fathers and mothers may differentially impact children depending on the type of emotion, child's age, and gender of the parent-child pairs. Practically, these findings highlight the value of parenting interventions that promote supportive emotion coaching, particularly for parents who may be less attuned to their child's emotional needs due to gender-related expectations. Early intervention with fathers may help reduce cross-gender emotional discordance and its effects on behavioral difficulties. The differential treatment of children's emotions may contribute to gendered patterns in emotional regulation, social competence, and even psychopathology. Future research should investigate these patterns using observational or behavioral methods to reduce self-report bias and include longitudinal designs to examine how early

emotion socialization predicts later adjustment. Also, exploring how cultural norms may influence gendered ES responses across diverse populations is important, as well.

The internal consistency of the EAS (Emotional Availability Scales) in the adolescent subgroup was relatively low (Cronbach's $\alpha = .43$). This value falls below the generally accepted threshold for reliability, which may reflect developmental variability in emotional expressiveness among adolescents or limitations in how the scale items align with the experiences of this age group. Consequently, caution is advised when interpreting results based on this measure (DeVellis, 2016). In addition to the low internal consistency observed for the EAS in the adolescent subgroup (Cronbach's $\alpha = .43$), other measures in the study also demonstrated suboptimal reliability. For instance, both subscales of RCE and only prosocial subscale of SDQ yielded an alpha of $\alpha < .70$, similarly falls below the generally accepted threshold (Cronbach's $\alpha < .70$). Such low reliability may indicate either a lack of coherence among scale items or developmental mismatches between item content and participant characteristics (DeVellis, 2016). These psychometric limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings, as they may restrict the validity and generalizability of the results.

4.3 Conclusion

This study showed how parental emotion socialization (ES) practices—specifically supportive and non-supportive responses to children's expressions of anger and sadness—differ across parent and child gender and predict children's socioemotional adjustment. Parental differences in supportive and non-supportive responses were minimal, suggesting a potential cohesion in parenting roles, as mothers were

endorsing slightly more supportive responses to children's emotional expressions than fathers, in response to both sadness and anger for adolescents. Secondly, significant interactions between child gender and type of emotion suggest that the gendered patterns of emotion socialization, where both parent and child gender jointly shape parental responses, may reflect broader sociocultural gender norms. Also aligns with literature that emphasizes traditional gender-role expectations and implicit biases in how parents perceive emotional expressions (Chaplin et al., 2005; Fivush et al., 2000). Besides, cross-gender patterns suggest that gender norms and expectations may influence how parents respond to children's emotions.

Finally, supportive parental responses were consistently associated with higher levels of prosocial behavior and lower levels of behavioral problems, while non-supportive responses predicted the reverse. These effects remained robust across both childhood and adolescence. Also, the effects of parental responses on behavioral problems varied by parent and child gender, particularly in younger children, with strongest associations observed in father–daughter and mother–son dyads, suggesting unique role of both fathers and mothers on child socioemotional development.

Overall, findings of this study underscore the enduring importance of emotion-related parenting in children's adjustment and highlight how gender dynamics within the family shape emotional development in Turkish familial context. Intervention efforts that promote emotionally supportive parenting—particularly in cross-gender parent and child relationships—may contribute to healthier emotional outcomes in children.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FORM

1. Year of birth:
2. Your gender: Female / Male
3. Your educational level:
 - ☐ Unable to read and write
 - ☐ Not a graduate, but able to read and write
 - ☐ Graduated from primary school
 - ☐ Middle school (or primary education school) graduate
 - ☐ High school or equivalent graduate
 - ☐ College (2-year) graduate
 - ☐ University (at least 4-year) graduate
 - ☐ Master's or doctoral degree holder
4. Your marital status:
 - ☐ Married
 - ☐ Widow
 - ☐ Divorced
 - ☐ Separated
5. Your employment status:
 - ☐ Working
 - ☐ Not working
6. Residence:
 - ☐ Neighborhood
 - ☐ Village
7. Including children not living in this household, how many children do you have in total?
8. (Participant) Age of the child:
9. (Participant) Gender of the child: Girl / Boy

APPENDIX B

EXPANDED VERSION OF THE RESPONSES TO CHILDREN'S EMOTIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

Over the past two months, when your
child has been angry or feeling
frustrated, what did you do?
(1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 =
frequently)

1. I asked him/her to understand the
person who made him/her angry. ____
2. I punished him/her. ____
3. I encouraged him/her to solve this
problem by himself. ____
4. I said, "You should be ashamed." ____
5. I didn't notice what he/she felt. ____
6. I also got angry. ____
7. I said, "People get angry in some
situations." ____
8. I supported my child by giving
advice. ____
9. I ignored what he/she felt. ____
10. I said that the situation wasn't that
bad. ____
11. I also shouted. ____

Over the past two months, when your
child has been sad or feeling down,
what did you do?
(1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 =
frequently)

1. I learned what caused this feeling.

2. I said, "Don't be a crybaby." ____
3. I asked him/her to understand the
person who upset him/her. ____
4. I expressed my disapproval with my
gaze. ____
5. I was often not with my child. ____
6. I told him/her not to act like a baby.

7. I said, "People get sad in some
situations." ____
8. I supported my child by giving
advice. ____
9. I ignored what he/she felt. ____
10. I told my child not to be sad. ____
11. I calmed down my child.

APPENDIX C

STRENGTHS AND DIFFICULTIES QUESTIONNAIRE

Please consider your child's behavior in the past 6 months and select one of the following options, "Not True", "Somewhat True", "Certainly True", that best reflects your child.

1. Considerate of other people's feelings
2. Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long
3. Often complaints about headaches, stomach-aches or sickness
4. Shares with other children, for example toys, treats, pencils
5. Often loses temper
6. Generally, well behaved, usually does what adults request
7. Many worries or often seems worried
8. Helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill
9. Constantly fidgeting or squirming
10. Often fights with other children or bullies them
11. Often unhappy, depressed or tearful
12. Easily distracted, concentration wanders
13. Nervous or clingy in new situations, easily loses confidence
14. Kind to younger children
15. Often lies or cheats
16. Picked on or bullied by other children
17. Often offers to help others (parents, teachers, other children)
18. Thinks things out before acting
19. Steals from home, school or elsewhere
20. Many fears, easily scared
21. Good attention span, sees work through to the end

APPENDIX D

EAS TEMPERAMENT SURVEY FOR CHILDREN

Below are listed some behaviors exhibited by children. Considering the behaviors displayed by your child, evaluate each item and select the appropriate option based on the frequency of the behavior.

1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = always

(4-11 Years)

1. Is shy.
2. Enjoys being around people.
3. Prefers playing with others over playing alone.
4. Tends to be emotional.
5. Moves slowly.
6. Starts running around as soon as waking up.
7. Often gets cranky and cries.
8. Is friendly.
9. Is very energetic.
10. Takes time to warm up to unfamiliar people.
11. Easily gets upset.
12. Prefers active and lively games over calm, quiet ones.
13. Displays intense reactions when upset.

(12-18 Years)

1. Enjoys being with other people.
2. Is always on the go, as if driven by a motor.
3. Gets frightened easily.
4. Often feel tense or stressed.
5. Quickly shows dissatisfaction with others.
6. Likes to keep busy all the time.
7. Is known to be quick-tempered and irritable.
8. Feels insecure.
9. There are many things that make him/her angry.
10. Panics when frightened.
11. Loses cheerfulness easily.
12. Is very energetic.
13. Has fewer fears than most children of the same age.

APPENDIX E

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (Sbinarek)

Sayı E-84391427-050.04-220171 ;
Konu : 2024-82T Kayıt Numaralı Başvurunuz Hakkında

11.02.2025

Sayın Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Deniz TAHİROĞLU

Tez danışmanlığımı yürüttüğünüz öğrenciniz Gonca Nesibe Kaya'nın "Emotion Socialization by Mothers and Fathers: Associations with Children's Adjustment / Anne ve Babaların Duygu Sosyalleştirme Davranışları: Çocukların Uyumu ile İlişkiler" başlıklı projesi ile Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (SBİNAREK)'e yaptığınız 2024- 82T kayıt numaralı başvuru 17.01.2025 tarih ve 2025/01 sayılı kurul toplantısında incelenmiş ve projeye etik onay verilmesi uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya on-line olarak katılımıyla ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. Onay mektubu tüm üyeler adına Komisyon Başkanı tarafından e-imzalanmıştır. Bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Saygılarımızla,

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Işıl ERDUYAN Kurul Başkanı

Bu belge, güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

Belge Doğrulama Kodu : 0B9Z-RB3H-0ZKE

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